1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for [352] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [341] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of ʿAbd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of ●351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored [251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, *passim*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

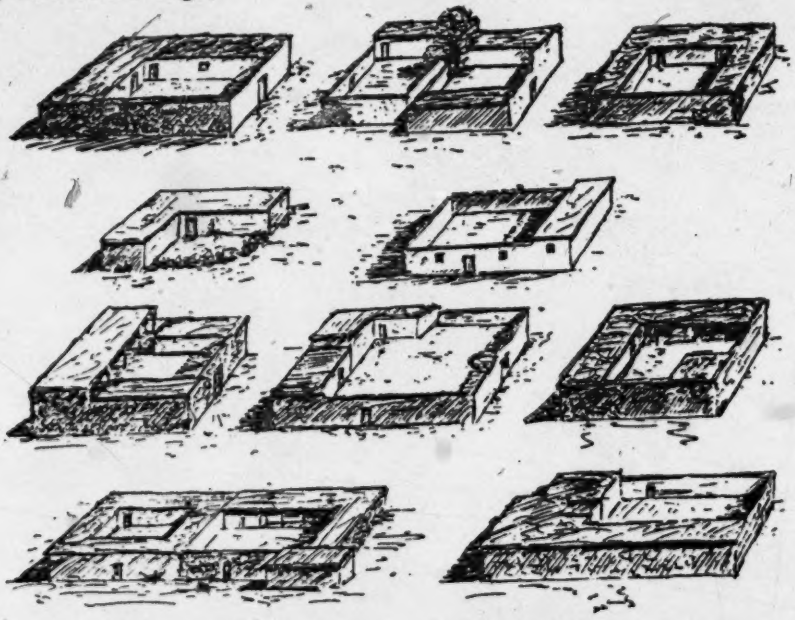

Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 139.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*).[A] A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*),[B] and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

[A] [See p. 127--Analyst] [B] [See p. 126--Analyst]